

# BROWNLOW'S WEEKLY WHIG.

W. G. BROWNLOW, Editor and Proprietor.

"THE UNION, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE LAWS."

VOLUME XXIII.

KNOXVILLE, TENN., SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1861.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY  
W. G. BROWNLOW.

**Terms of Subscription.**  
Two Dollars a year, payable in advance. No subscription will be received for a less period than six months.  
Remittances can be made through the Post Office, at the risk of the Publisher, when the receipt of the Postmaster is taken for the amount forwarded.  
Subscribers for copies of the paper must give the Post Office County and State to which the paper has been and is to be sent.

**Rates of Advertising.**  
TWELVE LINES OF NONPAREIL MAKE ONE SQUARE.  
No. of Squares. 1 Time. 2 Times. 3 Months. 6 Months. 1 Year.  
1st Square, \$1.00 \$2.00 \$3.50 \$5.00 \$6.50  
2d Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
3d Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
4th Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
5th Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
6th Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
7th Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
8th Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
9th Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
10th Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
11th Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50  
12th Square, 1.00 2.00 3.50 5.00 6.50

Advertisements will be inserted in the paper for a limited period, to be paid for invariably in advance.  
All advertisements on which the number of insertions is not marked, will be published until ordered, and charged accordingly.  
Advertisements will be considered due when inserted, except those with whom we keep regular accounts.  
No advertisements from a distance will be inserted unless accompanied by a remittance, except in cases where the advertiser is known to be punctual.

## Brownlow's Whig.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.:  
Saturday Morning, August 31, 1861.

SPEECH OF  
COL. H. R. AUSTIN,  
Delivered at Odd Fellows' Hall,  
February 19, 1861.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE MEETING.

My Union friends:—The question I propose to discuss has been forced upon us, and must soon be decided by submission or resistance to the Black Republican Administration about to be inaugurated at Washington. The State of Tennessee is in a false position, from which nothing but your prompt action can redeem her. The Governor, at your request, convened the Legislature for the purpose of calling a Convention to determine what action the State of Tennessee ought to take in reference to the new relations which have arisen between her and her late confederates in the Union our fathers formed. A difference of opinion in regard to the proper action of the proposed Convention defeated it: and, by voting "No Convention," Tennessee, in effect declared to the Black Republican Government, soon to be inaugurated at Washington, that she will submit to Black Republican rule, with or without an adjustment of the slavery question. Now, I assure that Tennessee did not intend to make any such declaration.—Tennessee will never submit to the usurpations of a hostile, sectional majority, whether that majority clothes itself in the robes of the Union it has destroyed, or of the higher law sovereignty, which holds in contempt all Constitutional restraints. That the Union our fathers formed is actually dissolved, seems too plain a proposition to admit of argument; nevertheless, there are many good men—true Southern men—who still close their eyes, and will not see that the Union to which they cling with so much idolatrous devotion, has fallen to rise no more forever; that a new Union has already been formed, of seven of the sovereign States, which in part composed the old Union; that a Southern Confederacy is now a recorded fact—an existing reality.

My Union friends:—You have been educated to believe that all the blessings of political, civil and religious liberty you enjoy are derived from, and would terminate with, the Union our fathers formed; you have been taught to venerate the character of Washington and his co-patriots in the American Revolution; you have been taught to regard the Constitution they ordained as the perfection of wisdom, and the Union they formed as indispensable to the preservation of your liberty; you have been taught to glory in the rapid extension of the government of the Union over the American Continent, and to rejoice in the hope that the star-spangled banner would forever wave over the free and independent States of America as a united and indivisible people; you have been taught to boast of the power and grandeur of your great central government, and to look with contempt upon other nations less favored, less prosperous, less glorious than your own; you have grown rich, and powerful, and presumptuous, and in the excess of your vanity you have disregarded the teachings of history, and shut your eyes to the elements of dissolution which were bound up in the Union, and began the work of dissolution the moment the Union was formed; you have been taught to believe that the Union our fathers formed was a sacred compact, ordained of heaven, and therefore indestructible; you have been taught to believe that a dissolution of the Union would entail upon you and your children all the horrors of endless civil war; a short, you have been taught to believe that our revolutionary fathers were endowed with wisdom, and invested with exclusive power to dissolve the political relations established by their fathers, and to institute a new political system which should remain unchanged and unchangeable forever. And now, standing as you are in the midst of the severed elements of the Union you have idolized as the embodiment of all that is great and glorious in human institutions, you repudiate the evidence of your senses, and invoke all the powers of earth and heaven to preserve the Union which has accomplished the end for which it was formed, and with the reasons upon which it was founded, has ceased to exist.

Why should we expect the Union our fathers formed to escape the common fate of all human contrivances. The history of the world, from the beginning, is but the history of the rise and fall of political systems, of the Union and dissolution of States, Kingdoms and Empires. The Union our fathers formed

was but an experiment, and was so regarded by Washington himself. Hear what he says in his farewell address. "Is there a doubt whether a common Government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculations in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands."

The experiment has been made, the doubt is solved, experience has demonstrated the impracticability of embracing the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States in a common government; seven States have withdrawn from the Union, and in the exercise of their separate sovereignty have formed a new Union, and all the other slaveholding States have threatened to withdraw if their Northern confederates refuse to enter into a new bond, with satisfactory guarantees for the future.—But, notwithstanding all these evidences of the actual dissolution of the Union our fathers formed, and the impracticability of embracing the two sections in a common government, many of you, with a faith exceeding the faith of your fathers, believe that the Union and the Constitution was consecrated as the temple of liberty, sacred and holy in the sight of God; and, like the Ark of the Covenant, the special object of His care and protection, under all circumstances, for all time to come. You say the Union is not yet dissolved; you admit that it is in danger; that seven States have already seceded; that they have organized a provisional government; that they have solemnly announced to the world their determination to maintain their independence upon the same great principles upon which our fathers fought in the American Revolution. But you yet hope, in vain, that the tyrannical majority of the North will relent; that they will yield something to the spirit of compromise; that when they shall have become firmly seated in the long-coveted places of power, they will deal gently and kindly with us, if we will meekly acquiesce in their assumed superiority, and lend them our co-operation in restoring the Government to its ancient principles of hostility to our peculiar institution, and protection to their peculiar interests. You say the seceded States have acted precipitately, and without sufficient cause; that they have been precipitated into revolution, in opposition to the will of the people, by ambitious, scheming politicians, who were determined to rule or ruin the country. This, my friends, is a great mistake. The seceded States, in my opinion, will never revoke their decree of separation from the non-slaveholding States, and I fervently pray that they never will. I can speak for the State of Mississippi with confidence, for I have a personal knowledge of the political struggles through which she has passed for the last quarter of a century, and I assure you that her people have not been forced out of the Union by the politicians. I have never been a politician, and have no motive to defend any man or class of men against charges founded in truth and justice; but I feel it to be my duty to defend the politicians of Mississippi against the charges which many of you believe to be true.

In 1850 I was a citizen of Mississippi, and a zealous Union man. At that day I thought we had a Union to save, and I thought its salvation was worth an effort—but I was wrong. I was self-deceived, as many of you are now, by my habitual reverence for the institutions established by our Revolutionary fathers, who perilled everything but honor in asserting and maintaining the great American idea of State sovereignty as the fundamental principle of political liberty, which I stand here to-night to defend against the tyranny of Black Republican consolidation, as proclaimed by Lincoln in his serpentine journeying to the seat of his usurped central power. I thought then as you think now, that the politicians of the South were to blame, and I thought it my duty to do all I could to persuade the people of Mississippi to disregard the warnings of Quitman, Davis, and a host of others who then saw, as I now see, that the spirit of the Union our fathers formed was fast dying out beneath the shade of Black Republicanism, and that in a few short years the Government of the United States would derive all its power from the elements of hostility to our Southern institutions.

In my zeal for the Union, I reviewed with some severity many of the documents which the Southern-rights party scattered broadcast over the State, and demonstrated to the satisfaction of all Union men that the leaders of the Southern-rights party were disunionists *per se*. I am now convinced that I was mistaken—that the charge was unjust.

Gov. Quitman, in his message to the Legislature, November 18th, 1850, recommended that Mississippi, alone, or in connection with other States, should demand of Congress the redress of specific grievances, and of the North, or non-slaveholding States, an amendment of the Constitution of the United States to give her security against threatened aggressions: and in the event of a failure to obtain the redress and security thus demanded, he recommended "the prompt and peaceful secession of the aggrieved States." And for this demand, he and the Southern party of Mississippi were denounced as "disunionists, *per se*." If Gov. Quitman had been endowed with the gift of prophecy, he could not have foretold more clearly than he did, what has since transpired: and now, after it is too late, even the "Border States" have been aroused to a perception of the ruin into which abolition fanaticism would engulf them; and the most zealous Union man in all their borders, who is not an abolitionist, and, therefore, willing to see the Government transferred to the Black Republican section of the country, demands more concessions from the North than Gov. Quitman and the Southern Rights party of Mississippi did in 1850. Nevertheless, the

Union politicians of the present day denounce the leaders of the Southern Rights party in 1850 as traitors—as disturbers of the peace of the country, for advocating principles and measures which they, the Union leaders, now pledge themselves to maintain, "peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must."

It is impossible for the politicians to precipitate these States into revolution or secession. Great political changes are always the result of adequate and long existing causes; and the separation of the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding States is not an exception to the general rule.  
In 1850 and 1851 the Southern Rights party of Mississippi, with the gallant Quitman in the lead, embraced a large majority of the most talented leaders of the Democratic party, and many of the most influential leaders of the old Whig party, all of their Representatives in both Houses of Congress but one, and a majority of the press of the State; but all the zeal and energy of their combined efforts failed with the people of Mississippi. They could not be precipitated into a position of resistance to, or secession from the Union.—They resolved to wait for the fulfillment of the prophecy of Quitman, in regard to the progress and final triumph of the Abolitionists of the North, in usurping the Government under the forms of the Constitution. They did not believe that in ten short years there would be a hostile sectional party in the North, strong enough to elect a President, without one vote in a Southern State. They had faith in the patriotism and justice of their Northern brethren; but in 1861 they beheld, in the election of Lincoln, the fulfillment of the prophecy of 1850; they remembered the warning voice of the immortal Quitman, who had been "gathered to his fathers," and with one heart, and one voice, the true men of Mississippi united in severing the bond which had bound them to a nominal Union, in which they could no longer enjoy equality, peace and security.

It certainly is not very complimentary to the intelligence of the people of the seceded States, to say that they have been forced by the politicians, against their will, to secede from the Union—which they had been taught to love and venerate, from their infancy, as a monument of the wisdom and patriotism of their Revolutionary sires. If this charge were true, we might well abandon our faith in the capacity of man for self-government. But it is not true. Long years of persistent aggressions upon the peculiar interests of the South, by the people of the North, had provoked a spirit of resistance in the South, which naturally increased with the increasing demonstrations of sectional hostility in the North; and it is not strange that the people of the South slowly and reluctantly yielded to the necessity of separation from a people whose fathers had fought, shoulder to shoulder, with their fathers, against a common enemy who sought to hold them in perpetual political bondage, under the forms of a perverted Constitution.

The history of the American Revolution, which required in the independence of the thirteen original States, is a history of aggression on one side and patient forbearance on the other, "until forbearance ceased to be a virtue," and the spirit of resistance, and the idea of secession from the British Union, supplanted in every true American heart the feeling of loyalty to the British government.—But long after Washington and the host of noble spirits who conducted the Revolution to a successful issue, had despaired of an honorable adjustment of the great questions involved in the controversy, the majority of the people of the Colonies held them back and compelled them to wait, until they saw the dangers to which they were exposed; and even after the Declaration of Independence, many of the people were in favor of "reconstruction"—of submission to the tyranny of the government to which they had been accustomed; and when their opposition to the new government ripened into treason, they fled for protection to the camp of their oppressors, deluded with the hope that the rebel government would soon become an intolerable burden upon the people, and be easily crushed out by the overwhelming power of British guns and British gold. There were then, as there are now, "reconstructionists;" men who could not think of separating themselves from the grandeur and glory of the greatest Government on earth—the glorious government of old England, under whose flag they had fought and conquered in the name of liberty; a Government which had insulted, robbed and murdered an unoffending people on the plea of "enforcing the laws of the English Government against" independent sovereign States, as they were soon compelled to acknowledge them to have been. Such was the Government to which the reconstructionists of the Revolution would have united the fortunes of the independent States of America. And in the plenitude of its magnanimity, the great and mighty Government of Great Britain, after it had alienated the hearts of the American people by a systematic course of injustice and oppression, and had compelled them to make their choice between submission and tyranny, or secession from the British Union, proposed to confer upon the American colonies the distinguished honor of voting, in a hopeless minority, in the British Parliament, and of having themselves abused as "outside barbarians." But, thanks to the heroic firmness of the secessionists of that day they refused to recommit their peculiar interests to a Government which had failed to crush them, not from the want of the will, but of the power to do it.

My Union friends: I would not say a word to offend or wound you. I know you are not secessionists. I know you are true to the South; but like many of the true men of the Revolution—who were not the first to perceive the necessity of dissolving their political connection with a people who claimed the right to control them in their domestic relations for their own advantage—you still cling to "the Union our fathers formed;" you yet have faith in the efficacy of prayer to your Northern brethren to stay the hand of aggression; to give us indemnity for the past, and security

for the future. You yet hope that the Union is not finally dissolved; you still have faith in "a reconstruction."

My Union friends: "Reconstruction" is neither possible or desirable. It is not possible, because a Confederacy of seceded States is already organized—a new Union of homogeneous elements has been formed. It is not desirable, because the old Union had survived the common interests, common dangers and fraternal sympathies upon which it was founded; and because the principles of self-preservation which induced the thirteen original States to confederate, should unite all the slaveholding States; and because it is not possible for the State Rights theories of the South to harmonize with the consolidation theories of the North; and it is not possible for the free-soil theories of the North to harmonize with the slavery-extension theories of the South; and because it is not possible for the representatives of the two sections to legislate, harmoniously, in the same hall; and because it is not possible to prevent the agitation of the slavery question, so long as the institution is embraced in the jurisdiction of government chiefly controlled by a sectional majority, unfriendly to its protection and extension. But if the causes of separation, to which I have briefly alluded, were only imaginary, the fact of separation is not a mere fancy; and whether it was the result of folly or of wisdom, it is a reality, and as such we are compelled to deal with it. We must make our election. We must join our friends of the South, or we must unite with the North, or we must set up for ourselves. Some of your leaders—for you have leaders as well as the secessionists—have made you believe that you can fold your arms as mere spectators of the political drama. They tell you that you must not make war upon your Southern brethren, who, they tell you, have been innocent, passive automata in the hands of ambitious politicians, who were determined to rule or ruin the country. They simply advise you to denounce the politicians, who, they say, have dragged or driven the people of seven States out of the Union, and forced them to commit the crime of high treason against the greatest Government and the most glorious Union the world ever saw. They tell you that South Carolina had the audacity to secede without asking leave of anybody; that she was fatally bent on mischief—that she has dragged other States after her, and that she expects to drag Tennessee out of the Union—"the glorious Union our fathers formed." They tell you South Carolina is a nest of traitors, and has been so from the first. They tell you of her nullification and try to amuse you with the absurd story about General Jackson frightening them into submission. This, my Union friends, is a great mistake. South Carolina, armed with the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, under the lead of the great Calhoun, frightened the Congress of the United States into submission; and the gallant Clay, the champion of the unconstitutional protective policy, made a glorious display of his generalship in his memorable retreat and final capitulation with South Carolina, upon terms honorable to both parties, and satisfactory to South Carolina and her Southern sister States. Thus the vital principle of our American idea of political liberty—the absolute sovereignty of the States—was practically illustrated; and when time, and truth, and reason, shall have dispelled the illusion created by false views of the wonderful "Union our fathers formed," you will be ashamed of the prejudices of those who have taught you to abuse South Carolinians as traitors, for asserting and maintaining her rights as a sovereign State in the Union, so long as the Union could be endured; and for seceding from it after the principles and conditions upon which it was founded had been perverted and violated by other parties to the compact. If all the Southern States had been as vigilant as South Carolina, in guarding the Constitution against the false interpretations and forced constructions of the North, the Union might possibly have been preserved; but they have compromised with error, and given impunity to aggressions, by patient endurance, until they have reached the point of abject submission to a lawless sectional majority, or a mainly vindication of their rights and principles by severing the political bond by which that sectional majority claims the right to hold and govern them forever.

It is a fact well known to every one familiar with the history of political parties in this country, that one of the cardinal principles upon which the Democratic party was organized by General Jackson, and upon which he was re-elected to the Presidency, was the principle upon which South Carolina nullified the protective tariff laws of Congress.

I have never belonged to the Democratic party or to any other political party, but I am bound to acknowledge that the principles of the Democratic party, since the period of South Carolina nullification, have been more in harmony with the Constitution of the United States than any other political party in the country. The protective tariff, the United States bank, and the system of internal improvements by the General Government, which the North had inaugurated and maintained as the settled policy of the Government, were denounced by General Jackson as unconstitutional and oppressive to the South; and, unpalatable as this doctrine was to the North, striking as it did, at their schemes of sectional aggrandizement, General Jackson, by the extraordinary influence of his name, and all the influences of perfect party organization, changed the policy of the government, and, theoretically, at least, brought it back to the principles of the Constitution. And thus Jackson and the Democratic party, from that day to this, have practically vindicated the nullification ordinance of South Carolina. And for that reason, from that day to the final dissolution of the Union, the Democratic party has rapidly declined in the North, and is now denounced as the Southern party, which they were determined to crush out, at the risk of crushing out the Government.

of a Black Republican Government, and their position with the South.  
"The Union our fathers formed" has accomplished its work: it has finished its course. It was a glorious Union!—glorious in its organization, and glorious in its results!—and the time will soon come when these who mourn over its dissolution, will have occasion to rejoice.

I cherish no malice towards the people of the North. They are a great people, and I shall rejoice in their prosperity. Under separate political systems, both sections will enjoy peace and prosperity. We can make good neighbors, but we can't keep house together any longer. We must say to them, as Abraham said to Lot, "We be brethren; let there be no strife between our people." Let us separate in peace, and thus commend to the world the great principles of political liberty, for which our fathers fought and bled in the American Revolution. It must be so. It is not possible that the North can have become so besotted as to attempt to hold the Southern States in a political bondage more galling and more degrading than the bond which the British Government attempted to fasten upon our Colonial ancestors.

It is idle to talk of reconstruction. The Government at Montgomery is stronger at this moment than the Government at Washington. The seceded States are bound together by a common origin, a common language, common interests, common dangers and common sympathies, infinitely stronger than the sympathies that induced the States to unite in the organization of "the Union our fathers formed." For good or for evil, the separation is final; and the sooner you recognize the fact, and go to work to make the best you can for what you now regard as a great evil, the better it will be for all parties concerned. You are deceiving yourselves and you are misleading the people of the North, but no one else. Separation is the only peaceful solution of the sectional controversy. If it were possible to hold the two sections under the same Government, it would result in civil war. Under separate Governments, they will do just as England and America did after the war of the Revolution was ended. Their natural interests and con-

Continued on Fourth page.